



"The schoolmaster is abroad."—BROUGHAM.

EDUCATION AND "HEDDEKASHUN." TO LORD ALTHORP.

Normandy Farm, 1. Dec., 1833.

MY LORD,

MANY and important as are the matters which dispute with each other the preference in their claim to the attention of those who have the making and enforcing of the laws, I scarcely know one of more importance than this. I have thrown down the gauntlet on the subject; I have spread a knowledge of my challenge as far as I have been able to spread it; and I have, as yet, received and heard of nothing worthy the name of an answer. I have put many questions to the advocates of a nicknamed education of the people. My questions have been stated with perfect clearness and distinctness: they must have been understood by every body that read them; and yet, not a word has been said in answer to them. Under these circumstances, I might claim the victory over my innumerable and noisy opponents. I might, at any rate, now hold my tongue upon the subject, until I hear what some one has to say in answer to me; but I will not do this: I will express my opinions freely, and without disguise upon every part of this great subject.

I address myself to your lordship upon this occasion, because the news-

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papers and parliamentary reports have spread all over the country, that, during my opposition to the grant for the British Museum, your lordship told me that I was "*an enemy to the education of the people*;" and because, from those newspapers and reports, it would appear, that I made no answer to the charge; they not knowing, perhaps, that your lordship made this charge upon me, when, according to the rules of the House, I was not permitted to answer. I will, therefore, answer now; and in that answer, I will go into the whole subject, and not leave the shadow of a doubt with regard to my opinions thereon; nor with regard to my intentions and my resolution relative to any parliamentary measure, that may be proposed, touching this matter.

Before we proceed to discuss the question, whether a thing be desirable or not, or whether it ought to be done or accomplished, we ought to come to a clear understanding of what that thing is. Your lordship called me, "*an enemy to the education of the people*." I opposed the taking of many thousands of pounds out of the pockets of the people. The sum was sixteen thousand pounds, I think; and this was to defray one year's expenses of the thing called the *British Museum*. This thing, consisting of a library and of curiosities of various sorts, of no earthly use to the people at large, kept solely for the amusement of the curious and the rich and the idlers, and ten thousand pounds of the money spent annually upon a parcel of parsons and their relations; this thing, open only from ten o'clock in the day to three; wholly shut up that part of the year when the nobility, gentry, and great tax-eaters are out of town; wholly shut up on Sundays, the only day when the industrious classes, even in London, can go to see it: this burden of sixteen thousand pounds laid, in great part, upon the working people, for the benefit and amusement of the nobility and

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gentry, and those who live upon the taxes: this grant of the people's money I opposed; and *because* I did so, your lordship logically concluded, and hesitated not to say, that I was "an enemy to the education of the people."

Well, then, let me ask your lordship what "*education*" really is; what that thing is, of which you asserted I was the *enemy*? "To educate," JOHNSON says, comes from the Latin verb *educō*, which means, he says, "to breed," "to bring up." Now, will your lordship say, that I am an enemy to *breeding*, or to *bringing up*? You must know, that I am no surplus-population-monger; you must know that I am the devil of the generation of Malthusians; you must know this; for I have been the real defeater of all their damnable projects. The noun "*education*," coming from the verb "*to educate*," means the act or business of *breeding*, or *bringing up*, or *rearing*. The French apply this word to all other animals, as well as to men: they talk, and they write, and they print, about the education of the horse, the sheep, the hog, and of every thing else, when they are treating of the manner of breeding and raising these animals; and I am mistaken if I have not read, in a French agricultural journal, very high and very just encomiums on your lordship for the pains, perseverance, and sound judgment, which you have so long bestowed, and very wisely bestowed, on the "*education*" of the ox and the hog.

Now, I am sure your lordship will not say, that I am an enemy to education of this sort; that is to say, to the keeping of things *well*, whether they go upon four legs, or upon two. A march-of-intellect man, the other day, gave an extract from an imaginary journal of your lordship, as follows: "From seven to ten—Planned my next budget:—
"from ten to twelve, a long and affectionate letter to Mr. POULETT THOMSON: "At twelve, *fed the hogs*." Well, and what then, you stupid beast? Beginning an hour earlier, put my plan for over-setting the next budget, and long letter to Lord ALTHORP about education, instead of the two former items of your

lordship's diary; and this will be much about my diary. The budget and the letter to your lordship, I might skulk away from, or slur over, but as to the feeding of the hogs, one minute too late there, and I should be criminal in my own eyes, and still more so in the eyes of the hogs; and yet this stupid creature seems to imagine, that a man is unfit for the great affairs of state, because he feels a great and immediate interest in the breeding and rearing of stock upon a farm. It is said of one of the greatest physicians, and one of the greatest real philosophers that France ever had, that his mind was first turned to study by the delight which he took in reading *LA MAISON RUSTIQUE*; and that book, as your lordship knows, consists, for the far greater part, of the manner of breeding and rearing of farm animals of different descriptions. So that, without citing the two great instances of our own, of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE and Lord BACON, there would be quite enough in the sole instance of TULL, to be a complete answer to these garret-bred critics upon your lordship's rural pursuits.

But, to return to our subject, here is quite enough to show that your lordship did me great injustice in imputing to me an enmity to education in the true sense of the word; and your lordship is bereft of all apology, founded on a want of understanding that sense; for you understood it as well as man can understand it. If, indeed, your lordship had qualified your assertion, that I was an enemy to *what was now called education*; or, if you had fully and candidly explained the thing that I was an enemy to. If you had said, that I was an enemy to the compelling of the people to pay taxes for the purpose of erecting places called schools, and for the paying of people called schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, to teach all children promiscuously: if you had said, that I was an enemy to this scheme, I should have most cordially assented to the proposition; and so far from complaining of your having stated it, I should have thanked you for having permitted a statement to be made

through a channel so likely to give it general circulation, and so certain to obtain for it general credence.

But, my lord, *I go a great deal farther than this*. I am no flincher with regard to my opinions: having made up my mind, that my opinions are right; that the Attorney-General will not kill me, if I express them; and that the expressing of them is calculated to do good to the people at large, though a great part of them may happen not to think so, I have never flinched from expressing them, and laying them before the people exactly as they find a place in my mind.

My opinion is, that the thing, called education, in common talk, now-a-days, is, in innumerable instances, not only not a benefit to the people, but a very great injury to them. But, we must go no farther before we define this new thing, which I shall call by the name that the disciples of this school themselves call it; namely, "*heddekashun*," coming from the new verb of the BROUGHAM school, "*to heddekate*," We have seen that, "*to educate*," means, "*to breed, to bring up, to rear*;" and that "*education*" means to form the manners and habits, and to direct the employment, or pursuits, of the men or animals that are bred up or reared. "*Heddekashun*," that which I am an enemy of, except under very peculiar circumstances, and, in some respects, under all circumstances, is quite a different thing. It is a thing not to be easily fully defined; but, the following, for want of a better, may serve as a definition of the BROUGHAM and MALTHUSIAN system of "*heddekashun*."

"*Heddekashun*" means taking boys and girls from their fathers and mothers' houses, and sending them to what is called a *school*; that is to say, a place where there is a man or a woman, or both, to teach the children the names of the letters of the alphabet, the arrangement of letters, so as to form words, and the pronunciation of the words; and, to teach them how to make marks upon paper with a pen and ink, so as to make letters and words appear upon paper, and also to make upon paper the nine

numerical figures and the nought. Besides this, it means, what they call reading chapters in the Bible, or singing them, and the singing of hymns. Sometimes the writing is carried on, in sand upon the floor, or with a pencil upon slate; and the reading and singing, and all the divers operations, are sometimes, in the more refined and scientific establishments, carried on by a sort of word of command. However, the sum total is this, that children are taken from their parents' houses, and little girls of from six to ten years of age, are taught, or pretended to be taught, reading and writing, instead of being employed in sweeping the house, taking care of the younger children, while the mother is out at work; picking hops, tying hops to the poles, tending pigs in the fields, driving away birds, or mending holes in stockings. The little boys of the same age are sent to what is called the school, instead of partaking in most of the above occupations, and, at the age of nine or ten, being, in addition, under shepherds, very efficient workers in the coppices along with their fathers and elder brothers, this being the age, too, when they are to begin to drive at plough, or lead a horse, or more than one horse, at harrow.

That is "*heddekashun*;" and I am not only convinced that it does no good, but that, generally speaking, it does mischief, and with regard to the country people in particular. However, even if I thought this "*heddekashun*" a good, instead of an evil, I might, with perfect consistency, be opposed to, and even reprobate, the BROUGHAM scheme of general, compulsory, and tax-paid "*heddekashun*." If I thought the thing itself good, I might, with perfect consistency, oppose your mode of obtaining it; and, let it be observed, that it was to that mode only that I confined my objection and my opposition, it not being necessary for me, on the occasion alluded to, to state objections to the thing itself. I do, however, object to the thing itself, as I have described it above; and I will now, in this address to your lordship,

state the grounds of that objection, in what I deem fact and argument, to support the following propositions:

1. That, to tax the people; to deduct from their food and clothing, and means of good lodging, in order to set up schools, and create masters and mistresses, to teach the children of that same people, reading and writing, would be a perfect monster in the law-making way.
2. That "*heddekashun*," such as I have above described it, and extending over the whole of a people, must be productive of mischief, instead of good; must tend to create idleness to supply the place of industry, and must be, generally speaking, productive of misery, to the "*heddekated*" persons themselves, while its natural tendency must be, to produce an infinite number of frauds, thefts, and other acts of roguery, which would not have existed without it.

With regard to the first of these propositions, what is this scheme of "*national heddekashun*?" Why, to establish schools in all the parishes and townships, and to support them *out of the taxes*. The money must pass through the hands of the Government. The Government will take care not to let the money go into hands that are politically hostile to itself. As it will have the giving of the money, and will be answerable for its application, it will, of course, have the choosing of the persons into whose hands the money is to go. No matter whether the schoolmasters or schoolmistresses be immediately appointed by the Government in London: they must be appointed under the authority of some one who acts in behalf of that Government in this respect; and thus there will be created fifty thousand more tax-eaters, and those, too, the most dependent and most servile that can possibly be conceived. They will, too, naturally be amongst the most unprincipled, because they will be idlers in their very nature; and they will be a band of spies working for the oppression of the people, on whose sweat they will live.

Is every man to be compelled to send his children to these schools? Is he to be compelled to send his children to a place to be brought up in idleness, while he has to feed them and clothe them? This would be an act of sheer tyranny. At any rate, such man is to be compelled to pay for "*heddekating*" the children of others, if he does not choose that his own children should be thus bred up. Nine-tenths of the parish may detest the persons who are appointed schoolmaster and schoolmistress; yet, all are to be compelled to place their children under their care and management; or to pay these detested persons for giving "*heddekashun*" to other people's children.

Upon what ground is it, according to what rule of right is it, that single men and single women are to be taxed for the purpose of giving "*heddekashun*" to married people's children? And, upon what ground are married people to be taxed for the purpose of giving "*heddekashun*" to bastard children? But, I defy any man to state, in the compass of a whole *Register*, like this, a tenth part of the absurdities, and of the instances of injustice, which must take place, if a scheme like this were to pass into a law; and, in the prosecution of which scheme, your lordship took the first step, during the last session of Parliament.

But, I hold it to be impossible that the Parliament should ever consent to the adoption of a scheme so unjust, and so every way mad, as this scheme is. The people must be reduced to the state of mere serfs: they must be deemed to be the mere property, or live stock, of the Government, before coercion and interference like this can take place. Therefore, I consider this scheme as done for. In spite of the cry about "*heddekashun*;" in spite of all the delusion that has prevailed upon the subject; in spite of all the cant and all the nonsense that have been at work throughout the country upon the subject; in spite of the natural desire that parents have that their children should become what they call scholars: the people, the industrious and worthy part

of the people, who have no desire to live upon the labour of others; in spite of all the deluding circumstances, when the industrious part of the people come to have these questions put to them: Do you wish to pay more taxes than you pay now? Do you wish your children to be brought up without work until they be twelve years of age? Do you wish them not to contract the habits of labour in their infancy? Do you wish to be compelled to send them to schools, the masters and mistresses of which you have nothing to do in the appointing of? Do you wish to be compelled to pay to "heddekate" the children of idle people? Do you who are single, wish to pay taxes to "heddekate" the children of married people? Do you, who are married, and have quite enough to do to get a sufficiency of bread for your own children, wish to have a part of that bread taken away to be given to some body to "heddekate" bastard children? Do you wish to have two servile spies, a male and a female, in every parish in the kingdom, upheld by the Government, and plotting against those who feed and maintain them? These questions put home to the people, they will at once reject a scheme so full of injustice, and so manifestly calculated to render them almost literally slaves.

But, my lord, I do not stop here: I am against any scheme of general "heddekashun," being firmly of the opinion expressed in my second proposition; namely, that such "heddekashun" must be productive of mischief instead of good. In answer to this opinion of mine, the question has often been asked me, What *harm* can this "heddekashun" do? The harm is this: that it rares young people in habits of indolence; that it causes them to begin the world without work of any sort; that it deprives them of the capacity of earning their bread at as early an age as they otherwise would earn it; that the miraculous advantages of what is mis-called learning, continually chanted in their ears, gives them the notion, that a better living is to be got without work, than with work; that is to say, work,

properly called labour, the stern application of the limbs to the doing of something. This is by no means a pleasant thing in itself; the love of ease is natural to all animals, and to man as well as the rest; in many cases it is injurious to health; but that is no matter; it is loved and sought for by all men, and by all other animals. Therefore, the desire to live without labour is general, if not universal; and young people who are sent to school, instead of being set to work, naturally imbibe the notion that that which is taught them will supply the place of that labour, which all so much dislike.

When once this notion is firmly seated in the head, the limbs will very reluctantly take to labour. *Conceit* comes, too, to prop up this notion; the conceit is fostered by the natural fondness and partiality of the parents; and the son of every mother is a prodigy of learning, and she, poor woman, is full of sorrow, and of envy of her more fortunate neighbours, that she cannot get a "*situation*" for her son, he being too well "heddekated" to make shoes, or to go to plough.

This nation absolutely swarms with young people of this description; they have no learning worthy of the name: not one out of five hundred of them possesses the smallest particle of literature, or is competent for any thing worthy the name of accounts. Yet they think their case hard: they think themselves ill used; they think, that the whole frame of society is bad; because they can find no one who will, out of the fruit of his labour or study, give them the means of living without work. They lounge about the house of their parents; they sponge upon their friends; and when both these, either cannot, or will not, keep them in idleness any longer, they then resort to frauds of all sorts, going on, till, at last, they end as downright acknowledged and notorious criminals; or as destitute and miserable beggars; when, if their little hands had been taught to pick up stones, or to weed the corn, and their tongues had been taught oawling at the

mischievous birds, instead of the former being trained to the making of scrawls upon paper, and the latter to the spelling or singing of words in a school, they might have lead lives of patient and useful labour, lives ending in ease and as much happiness as old age admits of.

Since the vote of twenty thousand pounds for the work of "*heddekashun*," I have met, in my walks and rides, about a hundred and fifty-three beggars; seven only of whom acknowledged that they could neither write nor read, and two of them told me that they had been sailors. About a month ago, I, being in a post-chaise, had to stop by the side of the causeway, near the turnpike-gate at HAMMERSMITH. A young man, about three-and-twenty, without shoes, without stockings, without hat, with an execrably dirty and ragged bit of a shirt on, a ragged jacket over that, and a pair of breeches which some gentleman had recently given him, and which were much too large for him, came up to the chaise door, imploring me to give him something. He had not at all the appearance of a drunkard; was a very handsome young man, not impudent in his manner, by any means, and the hand that he held out, clearly showed that it had never embraced any rude instrument. I was curious to know what could have brought such a young man into that state. I first asked him, whether he could *read* and *write*? "Oh, yes, sir, thank God!" I found, that he was the son of a tradesman of BRISTOL; that he had been at school several years; that he had been what is called a clerk; and that, according to his own account, being a long time without being able to get employment, he had at last come to this state. Most likely, there had been great faults, but arising from very natural causes: most likely, very serious delinquencies; but still springing from the same root. This was a case in which the parents might be wholly excusable, and which might not have been fairly ascribable to the popular delusion of the day; for, some clerks are wanted; some such persons are necessary to carry on the commercial transactions of

the country; and, therefore, the misconduct of the young man himself, might have defeated the very rational intention of parents; but, even in this case, how much better would an apprenticeship have been, and how much more likely to have prevented that misconduct! And, as to persons who have to work for their bread, who have no property beyond what is necessary to their subsistence, when they conceive the mad notion of making their sons gentlemen, because they can scrawl upon paper; when they conceive the notion of making their children miserable dependents upon the caprice of patrons or employers of any description, when the sure resource of honest labour presents itself; such parents, if they act deliberately, and upon reflection, are really criminal.

The BROUGHAM school, of which, to use the words of the flabber-gaster orator himself, tell us that "the school-master is abroad," insist, or have insisted, and, perhaps, will again, that, to "*heddekate*" the people is the way to prevent their being criminal; is the way to make them good, peaceful, and honest citizens. In answer to this most stupid, and, at the same time, most impudent and insolent assertion, I have frequently cited these undeniable facts: FIRST, that the number of persons "*heddekated*" in England, is twenty times as great as it was thirty years ago; and that the number of crimes (legal crimes) has not only not been diminished during that thirty years, but has increased, in the proportion of nearly twenty to one! Now, these facts are undeniable; and must not that man have a pretty good stock of impudence, who tells us, that to "*heddikate*" the people is the way to make them just, peaceable, and honest! And, is it in England alone, that this is the case? Oh, no! It is now discovered that just the same, or, at least, much about a similar increase of crime has attended the increase of "*heddekashun*," both in France and America? How often has it happened to me, to stand alone in the promulgation of an opinion! How often have I had to bear the re-

proaches and ridicule of corruption and of folly: how often to hear the doubts of adherents, and of personal friends; and, how often have I, in the end, heard these adherents and friends congratulate themselves in my perseverance in an opinion which they had thought wrong! Just so will it happen here: truth will prevail at last; and, in an article which I am now about to quote from the *GLASGOW HERALD*, it would seem, hat she has, at once, taken a bold step.

(From the *Glasgow Herald* of the 25. of November, that paper having taken the article from the *Scottish Guardian*, of the preceding Friday).

" DOES MERE INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION BANISH CRIME ?

" Two magistrates of Paris recently made a tour through the United States, and in the course of two years collected important information regarding the statistics of crime and education. In the state of New York, 500,000 children, out of two millions, are at public schools; that is, a *fourth* part of the population, and 240,000*l.* are annually expended for this purpose. Yet in this state crime increases, and that, too, though the means of subsistence and employment are so much more easily obtained than in older countries. In Connecticut, education is still more extended, and nearly a *third* part of the population is at school; yet crimes multiply to a frightful extent. The *Journal of Education*, stating these facts, draws this cautious conclusion,—if knowledge cannot be accused of *causing* this increase, at least it has not *prevented* it.

" On turning to France, and examining tables of the comparative proportion of instruction in its different departments, during a period of three years, the western and central provinces have been found the most uneducated,—15, 14, 13, 12, and 8 per cent. only being able to read and write; but according to an essay on the moral statistics of France, presented to the Academy of Sciences, the *minimum* of

" crime is to be found in these uneducated departments, and the *maximum* in Corsica and in the south-eastern provinces, and in Alsace, where nearly half the population can read. The different employments of the population may account for this difference in part; yet still we may again draw the cautious conclusion, that if education has not *caused*, at least it has not yet been seen to *prevent* crime.

" The only ascertained moral effect of intellectual education was stated in last March by the Lord Chancellor, in the House of Lords. In Russia, where education can scarcely be said to exist, out of 5,800 crimes committed within a certain period, 3,500 were accompanied by violence; whilst in Pennsylvania, where education is generally diffused, out of 7,400 crimes only 640 were accompanied by violence, being in the proportion of 1-12th of the whole number, instead of 3-5ths, as in the former case. Thus the only ascertained effect of intellectual education on crime is to substitute *fraud* for *force*—the *cunning* of civilized for the *violence* of savage life. Nor would even this small change be permanent. A highly intellectual community, without moral principle and the habits of self-denial which religion imposes, would only prove a sleeping volcano, ready to awaken every moment, and overthrow those very institutions under which it had been fostered. To increase the intellectual power, and enlarge the knowledge, of a man void of principle, is only to create in him new desires, to make him restless and dissatisfied, hating those that are above him, and desirous of reducing all to his own level; and you have but to realize universally such state of society to fill the cup of this world's guilt and misery to the *brim*. What do we say, then? Not, certainly, that education is to be withheld from any member of society (for that question is now decided, whether we will it or not), but that from the infant school, upward to the university, it must be a thorough *Christian* edu-

" cation, in which our youth shall be
 " trained in the ways of virtuous self-
 " control, and piety and righteousness
 " wrought into the understanding, and
 " into the whole habit of the man. A
 " perfunctory religious education will
 " no longer serve; not mere Bible read-
 " ing, but Bible education. The un-
 " derstanding must be enlightened, and
 " the heart must be gained over to the
 " side of truth and righteousness: in
 " short, the grand aim of education
 " must become, not merely the forma-
 " tion of intellectual habits, or the ac-
 " quisition of secular knowledge (as is
 " too exclusively the case in present
 " times), but the formation of the
 " Christian character. Men have hi-
 " therto been prone to take for granted,
 " that it was only necessary to teach
 " the art of reading, and before this
 " new power all vice and error would
 " flee away. These are dreams of men
 " ignorant of themselves, and ignorant
 " of our poor nature. Men must be
 " trained to piety and virtue as they
 " are trained to any other habits, whe-
 " ther intellectual or physical; and the
 " moral man must advance contempo-
 " raneously with the intellectual man,
 " else we see no increase from our in-
 " creased education but an increased
 " capacity for evil-doing. Let the
 " Christian community, then, and es-
 " pecially those who watch over the
 " interests of religion—let the clergy
 " and laity of the church of Scotland
 " start forward now, and, as their ances-
 " tors did, pre-occupy the foreground in
 " the education question; for, if they
 " do not, they may yet mourn in vain
 " that they have lost an opportunity of
 " guiding the issues of a question daily
 " rising into importance, and soon to
 " come before the legislature."

Upon this very interesting article, the editor of the *Glasgow Herald* makes the following remarks:

" The above are *most appalling state-
 " ments*. It is certainly made to appear
 " that mere *intellectual education in-
 " creases crime*, and consequently, that
 " no further progress should be at-
 " tempted in that system unless there
 " be a perfect assurance of *the Bible*

being its concomitant. Will the Greek
 " church and the Catholic church be
 " equally efficient in affording the due
 " counteraction to mere moral education
 " as the Protestant; or must the coun-
 " tries where these are established come
 " to a stand-still? Do all those semi-
 " naries of public and private instruc-
 " tion, where, in the spirit of Christian
 " charity and liberality, it has been de-
 " termined not to interfere betwixt pa-
 " rents and children, and where the
 " parents omit their duty—do all these
 " schools merely increase the capacity
 " of doing evil, and thus injure both the
 " community and the very individuals
 " themselves whom the benevolent en-
 " dowers hoped to benefit? Do these
 " piously intended bequests help ' to fill
 " this world's guilt and misery to the
 " brim?'"

This editor is certainly right; for, though in England, the fact of crime having increased with the increase of "heddekashun," would not be proof that "heddekashun" had increased crime; because there are other engenders of crime at work here, and very busily at work; but when we take France and America into the view, and find that crime has advanced in them, step by step, with "heddekashun," it is impossible not to come to the conclusion to which this editor has come; namely, that "heddekashun" has a tendency to cause an increase of crimes. This is going, however, much farther than I have ever gone before; but these two instances of France and America joined to our own experience, warrant me in giving it as my decided opinion, that the "heddekashun" has a tendency to produce and to multiply crimes. One would have thought it unnecessary to argue about the matter, after the new and severe laws which we have seen passed during the last twenty or thirty years; the new modes of punishment that we have seen introduced, and those punishments inflicted with unheard-of severity; the doubling and tripling the size of the jails, and doubling and tripling their number in some parts of the kingdom; the millions upon millions expended in the prosecuting, transporting, and other-

wise punishing criminals; the weight of the county-rates, which now actually threaten to rival the poor-rates: one would have thought, that, with all these staring us in the face, and coming side by side with the notorious fact, that this hideous increase of crime has been swelling up along with a similar increase of Bible societies and of schools; one would have thought that the most doltish legislature that ever sat under the sun would have long ago been satisfied of the fact, that *cant* and *crime* as they always did go, so they always will go, hand in hand. Yet, my lord, even in your reformed Parliament, we had the mortification to hear, from your own lips, a proposition to give extension and permanency to this cant; because I was opposed to which, the newspapers have told the world, that your lordship declared me to be, "an enemy to the education of the people"!

It is, they say, a poor devil of a mouse that has no hole to creep out of; and, therefore, it would be hard indeed, if a *Lord Chancellor* had not a hole; and this Scotch editor tells us, that your solid-headed colleague who fills that office, creeps out in this way; that though "*heddekashun*" does not diminish the number of crimes, it tends to diminish the *violence* with which crimes are committed; for that, while *three-fifths* of the crimes committed in *RUSSIA* were accompanied by violence, only *one-twelfth* of those committed in *PENNSYLVANIA*, during the same period, were accompanied by violence. Oh! what a wise man that is, my lord! The lawyers say, that he has a wonderful head for analogy. Now, my lord, you and I know, that there are many little injuries, and what we may call crimes, committed in a flock of sheep. One comes and drives another away, and very unjustly, from a tuft of grass, of which the latter had the right of priority of possession: another quits his own turnip, seeing his neighbour with one that he has a fancy to, goes, and in the consciousness of superior strength, makes the pre-occupant give way, and take up with his leavings: the strong ones drive the weak ones from the

trough and will not suffer them to eat until they have done. These are all crimes in the community of sheep; but whoever heard of any violences arising in that community? Put an equal number of *dogs* together; toss bones and bits of meat about the ground: what snarling, what growling, what barking, what snapping, what biting, what tearing, and how many left dead, or half-dead, upon the spot! Aye, you will say, but what similarity is there between dogs and sheep? Just as much as between *Russians* and *Pennsylvanians*: the former are an assemblage of the most brutal and ferocious wretches upon earth; and the latter amongst the most mild and gentle of all human beings. So that this is a poor hole for your Lord Chancellor to get out of. However, until we can look upon one highway robbery as more injurious and degrading to society than twenty thefts, we shall still deny that the increase of "*heddekashun*," accompanied with an increase of crime, is not a great evil.

Your lordship and your *improving colleagues* have, as you were pleased to inform us, sent commissioners to America, to ascertain the effect of the experiments made there for diminishing the severity of punishments. This is a distinct branch of cant, and is peculiarly detestable, when we reflect on the putting of poor *COOK* to death for striking *BINGHAM BARING* without doing him any bodily harm. Of this, however, I shall say no more, just at present; but I take the opportunity of expressing a hope, that the same commissioners will be so good as to give us an account of the effects of "*heddekashun*" in that country, where, it is well known, the *mind-marches* at a full gallop. I trust, that we shall have no *suppressings* and *expungings*: I trust that we shall have the *whole story*, not a heap of *thee-and-thou* stuff hatched at a yearly meeting. But, if we have the whole story, never shall we again hear of your scheme for taxing the people for the purposes of "*heddekashun*."

Those gentlemen who went from *PARIS* to the United States, seemed surprised at the discovery that they had

made ; and the editor of the *Glasgow Herald* seems astounded by their statements. Very curious, this. I have, for more than twenty years, aye, indeed, for thirty years, been promulgating the very opinions which I am now expressing in this very letter. It seems to me, that it is unreasonable to suppose that this "heddekashun" should not create crimes ; that it has in its very nature a quality to produce crimes. There is a certain portion of mankind who must live by their bodily labour ; the "heddekashun" creates a desire and disposition in great numbers of these, to live without bodily labour ; this desire and this disposition withhold them from using bodily labour. By not using bodily labour, they become poor and destitute, and are afflicted, at the same time, with imaginary wants and expensive tastes ; reduced to a state of poverty, want, and wretchedness, they use unlawful means ; first, to gratify their unreasonable desires and imaginary wants ; and, last, to relieve their hunger, and to shelter them from being pinched by the cold ; and thus criminals are created by the "heddekashun ;" for, had it not been for that, patient and honest labour would have provided for all the wants that they ever would have had. Want, as all the world allows, is the parent of crime ; and is there a man to deny that "heddekashun" is the parent of want ?

There is yet another reason for my objection to "heddekashun ;" and, strong as my other objections are, this has more strength with me than all the rest put together ; namely, that it has a direct tendency to *fashion the minds of the people to passive obedience and submission, be their wrongs or their sufferings what they may*. The press has been called the *rock of freedom* ; and so it would be, if it were *free* itself ; but, when it always can be, and most frequently is, the hireling of a cunning tyranny, it is the most effectual destroyer of freedom. Very narrowly has the President and Government of the United States recently escaped from the hands of this destroyer ; and, what is it able to do, then, in countries where all power and all pecuniary resources of a

nation are centred in few hands ? "*Knowledge is power*," says every pert coxcomb, who believes, of course, that all his mamby-pamby phrases contain *knowledge*. Very true, that "*knowledge is power* ;" but it must BE knowledge, then ; and would your lordship, now, who really possesses a great deal of knowledge, and of various sorts, and a great deal of experience as to that knowledge, and (except in the case of *expungings*, perhaps) a great deal of sound judgment in the application of that knowledge : now, I say, does your lordship really deem that to be *knowledge* that is taught to these poor little creatures by the unshaven, gin-drinking fellow, called a parish schoolmaster ; or by the slip-shod, dirty-necked slattern, called a schoolmistress, creatures who, if they ever get on the other side of the highest hill in the vicinage, unless with a constable at their heels, will entertain the children with stories about their travels. Now, I say, can your lordship have the conscience to call this *knowledge* ; "a knowledge that is to give the poor creatures "*power*," too ?

It is real ignorance. The little buck, who has been frightening away the rooks from the corn fields, who has been weeding in the corn with his mother ; he has got some knowledge ; he knows a rook from a jackdaw, and both of them from a crow : he knows cockle from barley, and the pea-blossom from that of the wild vetch. His mother can send him out into the hedges to get her some hop-tops, or wild marjoram ; he knows a bee from a wasp ; and, if set to weed a bed in the garden, does not pull up the plants and leave the weeds. Before he is ten he has been to the mill upon a horse with a sack of barley under him, and a sack of meal coming back. Too short to reach up to put the halter upon the horse's head, he knows how to do it by leading the horse to the gate by the fore-top, and then getting upon the gate to put on the halter ; thus, when not weighing more than the horse's leg, he becomes master of a great and strong animal. His knowledge is *power*, indeed ; but what the devil power is a poor creature to acquire from knowing

the nonsense that is taught in the schools of "heddekashun"?

What is ignorance? It means a *not knowing*. But, when we talk of an ignorant man, we must mean that he does not know that which *he ought to know*, considering the state of life in which he is. We frequently say, that we are ignorant of such and such facts; that is to say, that we do *not know* them. Therefore, before we pronounce a man an ignorant man, we ought to come to an opinion concerning the point, whether he ought to know the matter, with respect to which we are ascribing ignorance to him. Lord ERSKINE used annually to boast, or to say very ostentatiously, and unnecessarily, at COKE's sheep-shearings (and I am sure your lordship has heard him), that he once took a field of lavender for a field of wheat. But, nobody would have said that Lord ERSKINE was an ignorant man. Yet, I much question whether there are not people to call a labourer an ignorant man, because he might not know the difference between the common and the statute law; or because he might be ignorant of the difference between a warrant and a writ. It is a wrong use of words to call a man an ignorant man, who well understands the business which he has to carry on; and, if that business does not require reading and writing, his want of a knowledge of those forms no ground whatever for calling him an ignorant man.

Therefore, if the reading and writing did no harm, it by no means appears that they entitle the party to any claim to superiority in any respect whatever. But, this is far from being the worst; for the schools of "heddekashun" have been, are, and must be, where there is a government like this, and orders in the state such as exist here, and a system of usury and monopoly such as we have, *seminaries of slavery*. Seminaries, in which are taught those principles which make men contented with a government, under treatment which ought to urge them on, and which naturally would urge them on, to lawful resistance; and this is the greatest of all my many and great objections to this scheme.

It must strike every man that has only a small portion of common sense; that can merely state a couple of plain facts, and draw the evident conclusion; every such man, in looking at the great promoters of this "heddekashun," in seeing *who they are*, and what their conduct towards the people has been, for a long series of years; it must strike every such man with wonder, that these same persons should be desirous of *enlightening* the people, and of giving them that sort of *knowledge* which is *power*! What! must every such man say to himself, these people who have passed STURGES BOURNE's bills; these people who have put hired overseers over them; these people who transport them for being in the night-time in pursuit of hare, pheasant, or partridge; these people who, by the new trespass law, cause them to be caught by the throat, taken before a magistrate, and punished without trial by jury, for a mere trespass; these people who have made it felony to take a peach from a wall, or an apple from a tree; these people who have made it death, if, in a case like that of poor COOK, one man strike another, even without premeditation, and without doing him bodily harm: how in the devil's name comes it, that these same people are so anxious to give the people that sort of *knowledge* which is *power*! They had a Reform Bill to make the other day: they might then have given them *power*, if they would; and, all their study and their scheming in the discussing of that measure was to keep power out of the hands of the working people. How, then, are we to believe; how is any one but an idiot to suck down the belief, that they really mean, by this "heddekashun," to give the people knowledge which shall be power in their hands?

The truth is, my lord, and it is best to be plain and sincere about the matter, that they have no such intention; but, on the contrary, that the intention of the contrivers of the scheme is, to bend the minds of the children towards passive obedience and slavery. These are no *new opinions* of mine. No man has been more anxious than I have been to

see the working people *moved by their own inclinations*, acquire that portion of book-learning which is eminently calculated to give them *real power*. Your lordship was pleased to represent me as being an enemy to the acquiring of useful knowledge by the means of books. I have taken more pains than any other man ever took, in order to assist them in acquiring such knowledge. I have appealed to their interests, to their ambition, to their love of liberty, to their just thirst for satisfaction on their unjust and arrogant and insolent persecutors; and I have written book after book to enable them to act upon my advice. But I have always endeavoured to guard them against the schemes of *heddekashun*. And, when I published my English Grammar, "for the use of soldiers, sailors, apprentices, and plough-boys," I then stated to them, that one of my motives was, to prevent them from becoming "*heddekated*." This address, dated in Long Island, on the 25. of August, 1818, was addressed to the "*BLANKETEERS*," meaning, generally, the working people, particularly of Lancashire, who had shown so much public spirit in the scourging days of *SIDMOUTH* and *CASTLEREAGH*. I concluded that address with giving them some specimens of the sort of teaching carried on in the schools of "*heddekashun*." The whole of this conclusion I insert here below; I repeat every word of it now, after having had fifteen years to think of the matter, and to observe upon the conduct of the parties; and, though I will not be so unjust, as to impute to *your lordship* the motives which I impute to these promoters in general (because I do not think that *you* have such motives), I can see no difference at all in the minds of the promoters in general.

If I have addressed your lordship at great length, it is because I attach great importance to the subject; and because I am convinced, that, if the scheme were adopted by the Parliament, it could not by possibility produce any good; and must, in my opinion, make the country more miserable than it is, and add greatly to the danger which now surrounds every valuable institution that

remains, and every order in the state. Idlers already swarm over the land: this scheme, if acted upon, would make an addition to the swarm. Idleness would obtain a predominance greater than it now has; and deception, fraud, and the basest hypocrisy, would become the characteristics of a country so long famed for its industry, uprightness; and sincerity.

I am,

your lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

EXTRACT

*From the Long Island Register of
21. November, 1818.*

And now, my English friends of the *unindemnified orders*, let me address a few words exclusively to you.

I have often enough spoken to you on the pretended *plans of education*, which the boroughmongers and their tools, aided and abetted by the crafty priests, have long been putting forward. But, I see, that, *now* the indemnified Houses have taken the matter up in *regular form*, and have set a committee of their wise men to make a report "on the education of the *lower orders*." If there be *lower orders*, there must be *higher orders*, or, at least, a *higher order*. And, *who is it* that belongs to these orders, or this order, I wonder? And, how many are there of lower orders? Where do they begin? At baronets, or esquires? Or at farmers or merchants?

If these indemnified gentry were in earnest about education, they would begin by *causing themselves to be educated*; for, as you will see in my Grammar, the very elect of them are unable, even in so short a piece as a king's speech, to write a single sentence correctly; and, as to the heaps of nonsense which they put together in the shape of proclamations, orders in council, reports, and state papers, they are without a parallel in the records of human ignorance. Neither of the present Secretaries of State is able to write six sentences without error as to grammar. I once amused myself in dissect

ing a dispatch of Castlereagh. It was short; but it contained fifty-seven errors in point of grammar; twenty-one instances in which the words said what the writer did not mean; and seven wherein the words said the *contrary* of what he meant.

This is the character of all their writings; they do not write anything correctly; and, with the exception of Canning and the late Speaker of the House of Commons, I never have seen what led me to suppose, that any one of them was able to write anything correctly. And observe, that these two men are of the "*Lower Orders*." The Speaker has risen from a very obscure stock; and, as to Canning, if not purely of equivocal generation, he, at the highest, mounts only to the *ventre* of a play-actress.

This, then, is a pretty crew to talk and to make reports and to pass laws about educating the "*lower orders*!" The truth is, however, that they mean to do, and wish to do, precisely the contrary. They are, and long have been, endeavouring to *prevent the mass of the people from acquiring useful knowledge*. What regard, what affection, they have for the people is clearly seen in their dungeon-bill, in their gagging-bills, in their soldier-speaking felony bill, in their parish-vestry bill, in their Corn Bill, in their *Indemnity Bill*; and indeed, in the whole of their measures, which are a tissue of contrivances to keep down, oppress, and brutify the nation. Can they, who have violated every form of law in order to narrow the circulation of printed books, not written by persons in their pay; can they, who have made it death to talk freely with a soldier; can they, who employ spies to watch men's conversation; can they, who have made free discussion impossible: can such men *wish to see the bounds of knowledge extended*?

What, then, do they wish? They wish to make cheap the business of *learning to read*, if that business be performed in their schools; and thus to inveigle the children of poor men into those schools; and there to teach

these children, along with reading, all those notions which are *calculated to make them content in a state of slavery*: to teach them "to order themselves *lowly and reverently* to all their *betters*;" that is to say, the rich and the powerful; to teach them "to *honour* and *obey* the King and all that are put in *authority under him*," not excepting, of course, Sidmouth, Cross, Oliver, Parsons Powis and Guillim or Colonel Fletcher; to teach them, that *wretchedness* is the *lot* of their parents, whom it has "*pleased God to call* to that state of life," and that to repine at which, or endeavour to change it, is sinful; to teach them, that God *has ordained* that the boroughmongers and the parsons shall rule over them, and live in luxury, while those, whose earnings furnish the means of this luxury, are starving; to teach them that they never ought to think about Government, laws, or taxes, or any of the affairs of this world, but ought to be solely intent about happiness in the next, which happiness they can have no chance of obtaining, unless they, without a single murmur, put up with oppression, robbery, and insult in this world.

This is the wish of the boroughmongers and their dependents, amongst which latter are all tax-eaters; and these are the notions which they think to be able to make children imbibe along with the knowledge of reading. These are the poisons which they intend to make the children of England swallow in the gilded pill called *education*. And, it would seem, that they even intend to tax the labour of the parents in order to get the means of administering this pill! It would seem that the Government, that is to say the borough-men, are to select and appoint the *schoolmasters*, to pay for the school-houses, and to *furnish the books*! What volumes of "*tracts*" we shall have! In what sweet notes shall we have sung to us the endless blessings of passive obedience, non-resistance, ragged backs, frozen joints, parching lips, and hungry bellies! How seriously it will be told us, by some smooth-tongued female hack, that, *as God has ordained*, that

the noisy and lazy and gormandizing cuckoo shall suck the eggs of the hedge-sparrow, lay its own eggs in the nest, and make the poor hedge-sparrow hatch and feed the young, *so he has ordained* that we are to let our children starve to death, while we contentedly labour for pensioned masters and pensioned misses, the progeny of the boroughmongers!

1.

Come, little children, list' to me,
While I describe your duty,
And kindly lead your eyes to see
Of lowliness the beauty.

2.

'Tis true your bony backs are bare,
Your lips too dry for spittle;
Your eyes as dead as whiting's are,
Your bellies growl for vict'al.

3.

But, dearest children, O, believe!
Believe not treach'rous senses!
'Tis they your infant hearts deceive,
And lead into offences.

4.

When frost assails your joints by day,
And lice by night torment ye,
'Tis to remind you oft' to pray,
And of your sins repent ye.

5.

At parching lips when you repine,
And when your belly hungers,
You covet what, by right divine,
Belongs to boroughmongers.

6.

Let dungeons, gags, and hangman's noose,
Make you content and humble.
Your heav'nly crown you'll surely lose,
If here, on earth, you grumble.

This trash is no more than a not very unfair sample of the base and blasphemous stuff, that the hirelings of the boroughmongers prepare for the schools. It contains the *substance* of all their verse and of all their prose: and, to make it their own, it lacks only a suitable proportion of stupidity. I really should not be much surprised, if the hirelings were to take this very trash of mine, and put it into one of their "*tracts*," which they have the audacity and infamy to call "*religious*." The above trash does not suit, that I know

of, any of their *tunes*: and therefore, I will add another trash, which a friend at my elbow (they will say it is Satan) wishes to be added, as he thinks they will make the children sing it to a tune which he says is called the *Magdalen tune*.

1.

Come, little children, lend an ear,
To what you ought to hope and fear;
For, if misplac'd, your fears and hopes,
To dungeons lead, and e'en to ropes.

2.

To hope for bread, to hope for beer,
To hope for aught your hearts to cheer;
To hope for clothes your backs to hide,
Or screen your front or hinder side:

3.

To hope for these in any way,
Is hoping less of tax to pay;
And hoping this, in acts or words,
High treason is 'gainst borough-lords.

4.

Hope not for safety nor for peace;
Hope not for dungeon-bills to cease.
For justice nor for mercy hope;
For far are you beneath their scope.

5.

Let Cobbett, whose whole life's a storm,
The devil tempt to hope reform,
Till overt acts so foul shall place
His soul beyond the pale of grace.

6.

Hope therefore, you, my children dear,
Such horrid hopes to view with fear;
And when you fall by rope or gun,
Say, "Boroughmongers' will be done."

However, my friends, you are not to be deceived by any such trash. You, I hope, detest such a mockery of religion. You can, and do, see the design of the canters to the bottom.

HALF-PAY.

THE following letter and memorial from a captain on half-pay, I think worthy of particular attention. I will first insert the letter, and then the memorial. I keep back the name of the writer, though he does not keep it back; and certainly he has no reason to keep it

back. He may be guessed at by the officers of the Government; but, his case cannot be made worse without actually depriving him of his half-pay; and, if his thus complaining would dispose persons in authority to inflict that vengeance upon him; and I hope, and believe, that they are not so unjust to entertain such disposition; it would be impossible for such a man to meet with oppression in such a way, without meeting protection from the people. That he would have no objection to the publication is clear, from his having stated his grievances in the memorial which he proposes to present to the King and to the two Houses of Parliament. I do not personally know this gentleman; but I know that there are numbers suffering great depression, from precisely the same causes. I have numbered the paragraphs of his letter, for I intend to offer a few remarks upon it when I have inserted the two documents.

London, 2. December, 1833.

SIR,

1. As you propose to do away with the half-pay altogether, leaving it to officers to memorial to be reinstated by a statement of their services. As it would be extremely inconvenient to me to be deprived of my half-pay, even if only for a time, I should feel much obliged, when you bring forward your motion in the House of Commons upon this subject, by your submitting the enclosed memorial to its consideration, which may save me from the inconvenience I apprehend; and, in fact, it would be an act of charity on your part, in your *Register*, to warn officers who have services to state, to memorial in time.

2. As economy is the order of the day, why are not officers on half-pay who are desirous of service employed, instead of creating fresh officers, and with them fresh expense?

3. A call for a return of all officers who have been created since the peace, and who, without seeing a shot fired, have risen to high rank, stating the number of years' services before they were made field officers, would be very edify-

ing, and show how promotion goes in the army.

4. There is a part of the army that labours under great disadvantages, in our having two lords for the management of the army, both of them running upon blood, so that none but persons of high family connexion run any chance of success: they are the favoured few who step over the head of the unfortunate commoner, whose services are but little regarded. What has a lord in common with the humbler classes? Feeling for them is out of the question. When I last waited upon Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and tried to impress upon him the hardness of my case, tears came into my eyes, for I felt heart-broken. Had he not been a lord he would have felt for me, for a life and fortune spent in the service, and so ill requited; but all the consolation he did me the honour of displaying towards me, was in pointing out one officer in the army that had been worse treated than myself, and a few days afterwards came an evasion not to employ me.

Sir,

I have the honour to be
your most obedient humble servant,

To W. Cobbett, M. P.

To the King's most gracious Majesty,
and to the High Court of Parliament,
Lords and Commons.

The humble prayer of your Me-
morialist

Showeth,

That, it being proposed to do away entirely with the present half-pay list, leaving it to officers to make a satisfactory statement to your House of their services to again entitle them to have their names placed on the half-pay list, and your memorialist fearing that should he once be struck off (from want of interest), he may find the same impediments to his being replaced on the list as he has met with in getting from half-pay to full-pay, he humbly begs leave previously to submit a statement of his services, that he may not be struck off, as he hopes he has been sufficiently long an officer in his Majesty's army to entitle him to half-pay.

That, previous to the reduction of his regiment after the peace, he had served abroad for nearly twelve years.

That his long continuance on half-pay was not his fault, having, during the last twelve years, made frequent applications to be employed, but in vain.

That your memorialist, in his applications to be employed, had not limited himself to any climate or service,

That, never having been offered any service, he had never refused any.

That he has not of late given in any memorial in writing to be employed, as both Lord Hill and Lord Fitzroy Somerset told him they would dispense with it.

That your memorialist purchased his company in 1813; he is therefore a captain of twenty years' standing.

Your memorialist hopes that the statement may be taken into consideration, and that he may not be taken off the half-pay list, particularly as there are so many officers who have come in since the peace, and who, not being more than eight years in the army, have become field officers, some commanding regiments.

F—— B——,

Captain, late —th Regiment.
London, Dec. 2, 1833.

This gentleman seems to take it for granted, that there *will be* a committee of the House of Commons to investigate the claims of half-pay officers; or, at the least, that I have pledged myself to make a motion for the appointment of such committee. This is a mistake: I said, that it would be proper that such a committee should be appointed; but I did not pledge myself to do anything at all respecting the matter.

Yes: that which he states in his second paragraph is what fills the people with just displeasure against the Government; namely, *that new officers are continually being created, while there are thousands upon the half-pay list fit to serve.* This is one of the great grievances of the country. New officers are continually brought in, while the nation is burdened with an enormous

half-pay, which the Government represents as a retaining fee for future services. It keeps its hold upon these half-pay officers; it forbids them to become traders; it claims their military obedience; and yet it will not take them into active service, but is continually making new ones! And the only question now is: will a reformed Parliament suffer the Government to continue to do this?

Ah! but it is the third and fourth paragraphs of this gentleman's letter that are still more worthy of attention. Yes, it would be curious, indeed, to have a list of the officers made *since the peace*, and who have *already become field-officers!* This would be a curious list, and curious it would be to see to what families they belong. And, will a reformed Parliament suffer this thing to go on thus? I will say no more upon the subject at present; but that something must be done touching this matter is certain.

COBBETT-CORN.

THE following letter was accompanied by five or six ears of corn, as fine and as well ripened as any that I ever saw in my life. The reader will please to observe that it was grown five miles north of Liverpool, and on poor land, by the sea side. To the north of Yorkshire it may, perhaps, not be sufficiently warm to ripen this corn, but it is nonsense to pretend that it will not ripen in any part of England to the south of Yorkshire.

Liverpool, 6. Nov., 1833.

SIR,—I beg to present you a few ears of the "Cobbett-Corn," the seed I obtained from a small crop, grown in this neighbourhood by a friend of mine, who in 1831, procured it from you, through Mr. Thomas Smith, of this town.

In 1832, I and a neighbour planted a few grains by way of experiment, we anxiously watched its progress to maturity, when having collected our crops, the result was really surprising.

In the month of May last we again planted the corn, this season the plants

have been decidedly finer, and the crops still more abundant.

In sending you these few ears, I am aware that they are not at all remarkable for size or beauty, but when I inform you that they were raised in my garden at Litherland, five miles north of Liverpool, and within half a mile from the sea shore, upon a piece of land which last year produced a very poor crop of potatoes, and those very unsound, that the land is surrounded by old trees, the fibres of whose roots robbed the plants of that moisture and virtue which should have enriched them; that the land itself is poor, and that they had not any manure this year; I think you will agree with me, that this sample is very fair.

I am, Sir,
your obedient servant,
J. HINDLE.

To Mr. Cobbett, M.P.

TULLIAN MEETING.

I HAVE received the following letter from Mr. BUDD, who is well known to every gentleman in Hampshire and Berkshire, and, I might add, in Sussex, not so much from his having been a great many years clerk of the peace for the county of Berks, as for having been, and being, a man of extraordinary goodness in all respects. Those who have read my book called the *WOODLANDS*, have seen, in the dedication of that book, the principal grounds of my very great respect for Mr. BUDD, of which I wished some lasting mark to remain, after I should be no more, and which I, therefore, put on record in the front of a book which I was quite sure would long outlive us both.

Amongst other things for which I have had to thank Mr. BUDD, are the practical lessons which I have received from him with regard to the TULLIAN-husbandry, which he has practised for a great many years. He and I went together to see the farm on which Mr. TULL had practised this husbandry; and, it has been a subject of conversation and correspondence with us for a

great many years. He seeing recently my notice of the proceedings at MARKET LAVINGTON in Wiltshire, at an agricultural meeting at which Mr. BENETT presided; and at which meeting samples were produced of the eighth crop of wheat raised by Mr. Box, and on the same land without manure; Mr. BUDD having seen this, wrote to me the following letter.

Burgh-clere, 20. Nov., 1833.

"DEAR SIR,—In your *Register* about a month since, you mentioned the name of a Wiltshire farmer who carried on the Tullian culture, and who was alluded to by Mr. Benett. It then struck me, as I had often before been considering, that a meeting of us Tullian cultivators would be a good thing; not a club, but a meeting occasionally in London or the West of England alternately. There is the farmer you mentioned in Wilts, Mr. JARVIS, near Southampton, to whom some friend in Hampshire could speak, yourself, and myself. We should, like a snow-ball, increase, especially after you shall have made it public in your *Register*. Yours truly,
"WILLIAM BUDD."

Poor Dr. JOHNSON would have been afraid to plant a tree, lest it should make him think of dying. What a difference between his mind and that of Mr. BUDD! The latter cannot be very far distant from *fourscore*, and yet he sent me, the other day, a little bag of acorns from a beautiful oak growing near to his farm house, and which he and I had frequently admired for its retaining of its verdure almost to the spring of the year; and, at any rate, long and long after the oak trees in general had totally lost their leaves. What did he send them for, not for me to eat: no; but for me to plant, to be sure: not thinking any thing at all about my dying or his dying; knowing very well, that if neither of us live to see the acorns of these trees even a foot high, some body else would live to see them trees, if they were planted; and no matter where planted; no matter what person was to benefit by their

being planted ; the *country* would benefit by it ; and this was the way for the thing to be viewed, to be sure.

Mr. BUDD thinks that we should increase "like a snow-ball," if we were once to meet together ; and, if all men, like him, possessed the zeal and lively hope of youth, in company with wisdom, age, and experience, we certainly should increase like a snow-ball : for the advantages of the system, wherever fairly tried and persevered in, are so great, that it would be impossible for men of sense, who had no more than a common regard for their own interests, not to adopt it.

It will be asked, how it comes to have made so little progress in so many years ? But this is not the fact. Mr. TULL was the founder and the father of the DRILL-HUSBANDRY in England. He was the very beginner of drilling in England. In a large part of Great Britain, grain is drilled in the fields, with more or less of inter-cultivation ; and as to root-crops, there are no fine crops of this kind not cultivated in this manner ; so that, it is not true that the system has not been followed. But, it has not been followed in the manner practised by Mr. TULL ; that is to say, the grain, or other plants, standing in rows, and the rows at such distances as to allow of deep ploughing between from the month of March till the eve of the harvest, and having crop after crop, of the same grain, in the same field, year after year, without manure. This has not been practised to any great extent. But, this is the true practice ; and this is what Mr. Box has practised in the neighbourhood of MARKET LAVINGTON, in Wiltshire. It appears that Mr. Box began in 1825 and that he has now had the eighth crop of wheat, from the same land, without manure ; and, observe, his crop has been as great as the average crop of the country sown broad-cast : and requiring, perhaps, *half a bushel of seed to the acre, instead of three bushels, or three bushels and a-half, or even four bushels.* Mr. TULL's book had not been reprinted for half a century, when I reprinted it, in 1822 ; and I published

another edition of it, in 1829, together with an introduction, giving an account of my own experiments, which edition I am now selling. Whether Mr. Box was induced to undertake his very meritorious experiments by the reading of TULL in this my reprint, or whether he possessed the original work, I cannot tell ; but I am sure that he must have seen the book somehow or another, or he could never have thought of the enterprise.

I shall have, this next year, about thirty acres, or five-and-thirty acres, of wheat ; and, probably as many acres more of barley and oats, in rows at four feet one inch and a-half apart ; the inch and a half being added, in order to make four rows one statute rod, for the facility of measuring. I begin under every possible disadvantage, except that the land is healthy, free of stones, free of clay, and of a tolerably good quality, generally speaking. It comes to me at the end of a twenty-one years' lease ; fairly run out, and exceedingly foul. Yet, as far as this straw-corn goes, there will be no manure ; and we shall see now, the fairest of all possible trials of this husbandry. The meadow land and grass land, and land for garden seeds, I shall manure. So that these will be pretty abundantly supplied from the farm yard. With regard to the field root-crops, I shall continue it, if I can, to have them, or one, at least, on the same system, even this year ; but it will be observed, that they are *impatient* things ; that they must be got quickly, or not at all ; and yet that they must be had, or that starvation ensues.

Now, Mr. BUDD, seeing all these things, will consider, whether it would not be best for us to give an invitation to the TULLIANS to meet us at Normandy Farm in the first week of July next, when all the corn will be beginning to be ripe ; when the root-crops will be seen, for the greater part, beginning to come on ; and when, upon the spot itself, eyes, as well as ears, may be the channels of true information. One thing, at any rate, I can promise all those who may choose to assemble there, that, if they see nothing but Mr. Budd

himself, no man will repent of his journey, however long it may have been.

I must leave the matter here for the present, until I again hear from Mr. BUDD upon the subject.

ITALIAN CLOVER SEED.

IN consequence of my publications on the subject, I have received a letter from Lord VERNON, in which is the following sentence: "I have been cultivating the *Italian clover* for two or three years, and have every reason to believe that it will stand the frost." So that this important point seems settled. I shall sow a piece in April, and have no doubt of a great crop to cut up for horses in June; but, if sowed in August, after wheat, or any other grain, it will doubtless be fit to cut up for horses in May, or, in the south of England, the latter end of April. Sowed after the last ploughing between ridges of Tullian wheat or barley, it would be a crop, yielding a great quantity of food before November. There is every appearance of its soon finding its way all over the country, in the causing of which I shall be very proud of having been an humble instrument. A gentleman at NEWCASTLE tells me, that the Italians apply the epithet "*Incarnatum*" to it, on account of its large ruddy and *flesh-like* flower. But we must call it "*Italian clover*," or we shall never know what we are talking about. The shopsticks will very soon call it "*Ta-*" clover; and if we were to take that name at the beginning it would be just as well. It will grow just as well, and bear just as good crops, without the assistance of "*heddekashun*."

CORN AND WOOL.

THE following article has been published in the *Bankers' Circular*, in answer to an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, which is said to have been written by PETER MACCULLOCH. PETER is in public pay, and a very fit tool in the hands of this stupid Whig Ministry. I commend the article to the best at-

tention of my readers: it is able; and it cuts down the quack-politician very completely.

(From the *Circular to Bankers*, 29. Nov.)

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

SIRS,—We have more than once had occasion to remark on the misleading character of articles on commercial subjects in the *Edinburgh Review*. Whoever supplies that once-celebrated and influential periodical with essays on trade, manufactures, and commerce, is either so exceedingly dishonest, so grossly ignorant, or so bewildered in the labyrinth of unsound doctrines, as to render him a most fallacious guide in political economy. When, in the two numbers preceding the last, we briefly submitted our views on the subject of the Corn Laws, and the Report of the Agricultural Committee, we had not seen the last number of the *Review*. An article "On the present State of Manufactures, Trade, and Shipping," contains passages so erroneous in fact, so fraudulent in inference, and so dangerous if they are to be taken as an indication of the opinions of the more bustling and confident part of the Government, that they demand exposure and animadversion.

The passage to which we shall at present limit our observations, is found in the second division of the subject which relates to wool and the woollen manufactures, in which a point in favour of a free trade in corn is attempted to be established in a most unfair and disreputable manner. We will first insert the paragraph, and then endeavour to show how false it is in facts, and how erroneous the inferences and principles deduced from those facts.

"Those who were opposed to the repeal of the duty of 5*d.* per pound on foreign wool, imposed by Mr. Vansittart, in 1819, contended that it would deluge the country with foreign wool, and that the price of British wool would be so much reduced, as materially to check its production; at the same time that it would infallibly ruin the greater number of the wool-growers. The advocates of the

"reduction contended, on the other
 "hand, that unless the importation of
 "foreign wool under a low duty were
 "allowed, the manufactures of various
 "descriptions of cloth in extensive de-
 "mand, which were partly, though they
 "could not be wholly, made of British
 "wool, must be discontinued; and,
 "that in consequence of the loss of this
 "important branch of the trade, and
 "the difficulties under which every part
 "of it was laid by the duty, the price
 "of British wool would, in the end, be
 "reduced much lower than it would be
 "under a system of free trade, while
 "the manufactures would be well nigh
 "destroyed. Government took this
 "view of the matter, and we are glad
 "to have to state that the result has
 "fully justified the soundness of the
 "principles on which they proceeded.
 "The duties were reduced in Decem-
 "ber, 1825; and in despite of all
 "the confident assertions as to the
 "ruin it would entail on the sheep
 "farmers, *the prices of wool have gone*
 "*on advancing from 1826 to the present*
 "*time.* The rise was checked for a
 "short while in 1828 by the proceedings
 "of the Lords Committee; but the
 "moment it was known that the low
 "duty was not to be disturbed, prices
 "began instantly to advance. This is
 "one of the most memorable and in-
 "structive instances to be found in the
 "history of the country, of the triumph
 "of liberal and enlarged over narrow
 "and short-sighted views. Our readers
 "cannot have forgotten the obloquy
 "and abuse heaped on Mr. Huskisson,
 "for the part he took in reducing
 "the wool duties. But he knew well,
 "that whatever inconvenience the mea-
 "sure might occasion at the outset, it
 "would soon be got over; and that it
 "was contradictory and absurd to sup-
 "pose that the real and lasting interests
 "of the wool-growers would be pro-
 "moted by maintaining a system that
 "went to ruin the manufacturers. There
 "is now but one subject of regret con-
 "nected with this measure—that Mr.
 "Huskisson did not live to witness the
 "complete success of the plan. We
 "trust that this striking example of

"judicious legislation will not be per-
 "mitted to remain without any attempt
 "at imitation. Let the same thing be
 "done by corn which Mr. Huskisson
 "did by wool, and we venture to pre-
 "dict that the results will be precisely
 "similar."

Any honest simple-minded man,
 knowing nothing of the actual cir-
 cumstances, and unacquainted with the
 tricks of professional authors, would be
 induced from the above to conclude that
 public opinion was hostile to the repeal
 of this duty, and that clamorous deputa-
 tions from interested bodies of men
 waited upon the Minister to oppose it;
 whereas the fact is precisely the reverse
 of this. We do not affirm that no
 representation in favour of conti-
 nued protection was made by Sir
 Edward Knatchbull and two or three
 individuals who acted with the hon.
 Baronet, but their efforts were neither
 strenuous nor determined; and we ven-
 ture to assert that no important mea-
 sure affecting rival interests, was ever
 carried with a more general expression
 of public approbation than the repeal of
 the duty on wool. The Minister wanted
 the tax to replenish his exchequer; on
 that ground, and on that alone, he for
 years resisted all applications for its
 repeal. Public clamour was almost
 wholly in favour of its abolition; de-
 putation after deputation came from
 the manufacturing districts to force him
 to repeal it. That shrinking, apprehen-
 sive, and timid statesman, who only
 employed his faculties in devising exped-
 ients to conduct the vessel of state
 through his own time, without caring or
 knowing in what condition he left it to
 his successors—Lord Liverpool—com-
 plained of the manifestation of popular
 impatience for the repeal of the duty on
 wool. On one occasion upwards of a
 hundred persons rushed into his room at
 Fife-house to represent their grievances
 from the continuance of the tax. The
 difficulty of the Government, so far
 from consisting in an attempt to repeal
 this impost, as is here insinuated, lay
 entirely in maintaining it on the Statute
 Book for exchequer purposes. The re-
 viewer first ascribes to a party, which he

supposes to be unfavourable to his own views, principles and opinions which they do not entertain, and then, as we shall presently see, attempts by false statements to give a refutation to the opinions so assumed.

Then with respect to that more weighty matter, the prices of wool, from which most important inferences, and principles of the highest public concern are deduced by the reviewer, in this case the false statement of circumstances, and the erroneous reasoning founded upon them, are more easily exposed. The reviewer states, and he causes the statement to be printed in italics to mark its importance, that "*the prices of wool have gone on advancing from the year 1826 to the present time,*" desiring us with superficial cunning to conclude that the low prices were owing to the tax, and that the advance was wholly to be ascribed to its removal. Now let us look at the state of the facts on which this superstructure is attempted to be raised; and for this purpose we will take the prices of British wool for the seven years previous to the imposition of the tax and the seven years subsequent, when, as far as the duty on import is concerned, they were placed in precisely similar circumstances.

Prices of British-grown wool for the seven years previous to the imposition of the import duty of 5*d.* per pound upon foreign wool, taking the prices as they stood on the 1. of January in every year.

South Downs.	Long-wool.
1813.... 19 <i>d.</i> per pound....	18 <i>d.</i>
1814.... 24½	.... 19½
1815.... 24	.... 20
1816.... 23	.... 21
1817.... 18	.... 13½
1818.... 21½	.... 18
1819.... 24	.... 22

7)154(22*d.* per pound 7)132(18½*d.*

Prices of the same description of wool on the 1. of January, 1826, immediately after the additional duty of 5*d.* per pound had ceased to be levied.

Down fleeces, 14*d.* per lb.

Long-wool fleeces, 14*d.* per lb.

Prices on the 1. of January in the seven years succeeding the repeal and cessation of the duty of 5*d.* per pound.

Downs.	Long-wool.
1823.... 11 <i>d.</i> per pound....	12 <i>d.</i>
1828.... 10	.... 12
1829.... 8	.... 11
1830.... 7	.... 9
1831.... 11	.... 12
1832.... 13	.... 13
1838.... 13	.... 14

7)73(10¾*d.* per pound 7)83(11¼*d.*

Prices of the same description of wool when a restrictive duty was levied.

Downs.	Long-wool.
1827.... 18 <i>d.</i> per pound....	15½
1821.... 16	.... 15½
1822.... 15	.... 13½
1823.... 14	.... 11½
1824.... 14	.... 12
1825.... 14	.... 15
1826.... 14	.... 14

7)105(15*d.* per pound 7)97(13¼*d.*

These prices must all be taken as indicative of the state of the wool market for the three months ending with January, rather than at an accurate quotation from the prices of any particular day.

It should be remarked that when we take the prices of some one general description of wool, produced in different parts of the country, there will not be a perfect agreement throughout in the prices quoted. Greater distance from the seat of manufacture depresses the relative value of any particular production to the producer, and the wool grown in some counties will command a higher or a lower price than the average taken, according to the superiority or inferiority of its quality to that of other counties. The wool grown in Northamptonshire, for example, and the adjoining counties of Warwick and Leicester, being subject to a higher carriage-charge in its transmission to the consumer, and being also inferior in quality to the wool produced in Kent and Lin-

colnshire, would be sold by the farmer at lower prices. But these circumstances could hardly ever make a difference exceeding 1d. per pound. The above tables represent the general prices of good sound wool with all attainable accuracy. In stating these, the most scrupulous care has been exercised to preclude the possibility of a charge of unfairness, or if we can be taxed with any such fault, it is rather against ourselves that we have committed it, in not corroborating our opinions with the fullest force of contrast which the circumstances of the case would warrant. That the quotations of prices we have made are substantially correct, and that they amply justify the conclusions that we shall form from them, no man sufficiently acquainted with the wool trade could deny. If these observations should ever be honoured by the notice of the Duke of Richmond, Lord Althorp, or Lord Western, who stand so honourably distinguished as promoters of agriculture, and every thing contributing to the welfare and happiness of farmers and graziers,—these noblemen might readily test the general accuracy of our statement by reference to the prices at which their own South-Down wool or long wool, or that of their substantial tenants, was sold in the years referred to. We attach great importance to this matter for reasons which will appear as we proceed with our case.

It has been seen by our quotation from the Review, that the writer asserted with peculiar emphasis that *the prices of wool have gone on advancing from 1826 to the present time*, and he drew from this fact the important conclusion that they had been kept low solely by the restrictive duty upon wool imported. The unimportant exception—parenthetically introduced—to the constant rise in the value, is dishonestly ascribed to the influence of a parliamentary investigation. That inquiry produced no effect upon prices, because the Government announced, when they permitted the Committee to be named, that no change in the existing policy should be allowed. This, therefore, is pure unfounded assumption. The re-

viewer makes no reference whatever to the prices of wool immediately preceding the imposition of the duty, when as far as that circumstance on which the whole argument hinges is concerned, the state of things was precisely the same; and why? because the glaring difference in the price of this principal production of British industry—a production which at 1s. per pound amounts annually to a sum exceeding eight millions sterling, would have brought into view the fraudulent changes in the currency. It seems beneath the dignity of modern philosophers to refer any great effect, how much soever it may affect the welfare and happiness of the people, to a cause, the very mention of which is forbidden. But if consistency and the enforcement of a belief in the infallibility of its disciples rendered such reference dangerous, we view with astonishment their hardihood in attempting to support their case by falsehood so gross as the foregoing facts expose.

We are not now intending to discuss the principles of free trade. Abstractedly, all men must agree in the soundness of that doctrine which would instruct us in the means of removing every impediment to the perfect freedom of commercial enterprise, when directed to objects of substantial national benefit, but the only defensible ground of this policy is a perfectly unobstructed trade in corn, the greatest of all merchantable commodities, and one in universal demand. Now it is demonstrable that this point cannot be attained without annihilating a great portion of the rent paid for land in England, scattering the aristocracy to the winds, entirely changing the present order of society, and eventually breaking down the existing frame of Government. If, therefore, this supposed boon of free trade is to receive the sanction of a subservient Parliament, the least we would ask is that the price it is to cost us be fairly placed before our eyes, that public opinion may pronounce a deliberate judgment upon the real merits of the case. We object to the fraudulent artifices of the promoters of this policy, who are constantly endeavouring by surreptitious

means to obtain a verdict in their favour. One of the most disreputable instances of this description of fraud is contained in the article upon which we are commenting.

The reviewer, fortifying himself under the false statement respecting the prices of wool, triumphantly proceeds to lead his ignorant followers to besiege the Government for a repeal of the corn laws. "There is now," he says, "but one subject of regret connected with this measure—that Mr. Huskisson did not live to witness the complete success of his plans. We trust that this striking example of judicious legislation will not be permitted to remain without any attempt at imitation. Let the same thing be done by corn which Mr. Huskisson did by wool, and we venture to predict that the results will be precisely similar. As this headlong and stupid attempt to enforce a fashionable theory connected with the most important subject that can come under the deliberation of Parliament depends altogether upon the relative prices of wool during one period, when a restrictive duty upon the import of that commodity was collected, and another period when it was free from that duty, we have been at some pains to ascertain the actual state of this matter. We pledge ourselves to be ready to prove before any competent authority, that the facts are precisely opposite to those assumed by this writer; and that if any conclusion respecting the consequences of opening the ports for corn, could fairly be drawn from the prices of wool, it would be diametrically opposite to that which he deduces. The short-stapled wool of England, which is carded and used exclusively for the manufacture of cloth of various textures and qualities, is the only kind of wool that admits of a comparison as to prices under a state of restriction, and under a state of free trade. Of long-stapled wool, which is combed and not carded, there is not so much produced in all the foreign countries in the world, as is produced in one English county. Now we find, from the foregoing tables of prices, that South-Down wool was nearly fifty

per cent. higher on the average during the seven years immediately preceding the imposition of the duty of five pence per pound, than it was during the seven years in which that duty was levied; we find that the prices of the same wool were nearly fifty per cent. higher during the existence of the duty, than they were during the same period of time immediately succeeding its repeal; and we find also that the prices during the seven years preceding 1819, when the duty of 5d. was laid on, were very nearly 100 per cent. higher than they were during the seven years immediately following the adoption of that duty.

What, then, do these facts prove? Clearly not that which the writer in the Review has attempted to establish from the evidence assumed by him, viz., that the price of an agricultural production is lowered by a restrictive duty upon the import, and raised by its removal; as far as that matter is concerned, they prove precisely the contrary; but they prove, indisputably, that the prices of wool depend more upon the state of the currency than upon any other cause. In the year 1819, another act bearing upon this question, not less than that which imposed a duty upon foreign wool, was placed upon the statute-book. Peel's bill was passed in that memorable year, and though the reviewer dishonestly keeps it out of view, we could not refer to any circumstances which would afford a more striking illustration of the operation and character of that destructive law, than the value of sheep's wool. *It explains the reason of the prices being, on an average, 100 per cent. higher during the seven years previous to its enactment, than during the seven years succeeding 1825, when this famous bill was going into more perfect operation—THERE BEING NO DUTY OF 5d. PER POUND ON WOOL DURING THE WHOLE OF THESE FOURTEEN YEARS.* And it accounts, in a very curious and instructive manner, for the average price being reduced from 22d. to 15d. per pound only, during the seven years succeeding 1819, in which period the Government was tampering with the cur-

rency, in order to mitigate the pressure of Mr. Peel's bill, and when the people were struggling against its confiscatory operation.

If we were asked why we bestow this notice upon an article in a periodical publication, we would answer, that it relates to a subject of indescribable importance; that it appears in a number which contains several excellent essays upon matters of great interest, distinct from political economy, which will cause the work to be more extensively read than it has been for years; that this treatise on the "present state of manufactures, trade, and shipping," has been vauntingly put forth as the summing-up of the Government, on a consideration of the evidence taken by the Parliamentary committee, which was appointed to investigate the subject. For these reasons it must be regarded as a very dangerous publication; it is intended to supply the place of a report from that committee, and it directs a sneer against "the harangues of Messrs. Attwood, Cobbett, and Co.," because Mr. Thomas Attwood and Mr. Fielden (the colleague of Mr. Cobbett), were supposed to be mainly instrumental in preventing a flourishing report being delivered by the committee to the House of Commons. If it is to be regarded as a sort of manifesto of the Government, or of any influential portion of the Administration, we repeat that we never witnessed a more dangerous proceeding, because, in that case, it would betray a determination in those who possess power, to rush to a conclusion on the momentous subject of the corn-laws from statements notoriously and entirely false. But whether or not the article be sent forth under the sanction of the Ministry, it is asserted to be written by a person who is the most constant adviser of the Board of Trade, a man to whom the functionaries of that department of the State resort for counsel on all measures of policy relating to the commercial economy of the country, and the industry and welfare of the people. Therefore, in every point of view, it is obvious that such a publication must be treated as a matter of importance. Anything

more flagitious than this attempt to steal a verdict upon false evidence was never exhibited within the whole range of literature. It disgraces the character of the work in which it appears, and if it be published with the privity and authority of the Government, the fact ought to be made known to the public, in order that those who own and cultivate the soil may see and be prepared to encounter the sort of warfare by which their ruin is intended to be accomplished.

We are, sirs, obediently,

H. B. & Co.

RIGHTS OF INDUSTRY.

It is very well known, that the whole country is in a stir with what are called "TRADES UNIONS." This has become so formidable a matter, that it demands the attention of every one who meddles at all with public affairs. I have just received from Lancashire, and under the frank of my honourable colleague, an account of a society, of which he himself is a member, and of which he himself is one of the managers. I have long been contending that labour had not its just reward; that those who do the work have long been unfairly treated; and that, at last, it must, in some way or another, end in their being better treated. The working people have long been combining in one way or another to obtain better treatment; and at last they seem to have combined for some practical purpose. The nation has been divided very nearly into two classes, the idlers living chiefly on the taxes, in one way or another, and the industrious, who have their earnings taken from them to maintain the idlers. Lord BACON said, and the history of the world has said, that no state can long stand in peace, and maintain its power, in a state of things like this. The people hoped that a reformed Parliament would make a complete change in this respect; and they have been completely disappointed. Therefore, casting aside all disquisitions relative to forms of government, and political and constitu-

tional rights, they have betaken themselves to what they deem the best method of insuring them sufficiency of food and of raiment in return for their labour. Many of the employers enter into the views of the workmen; and we are now about to see whether a working people will continue to live upon potatoes and salt, while so large a part of their earnings is taken from them to be given to pensioners, sinecure people, men and women, half-pay people, retired-allowance people, military-academy people, and to bands of usurers who pretend to have a mortgage upon the labour of the child that is in the cradle. The Government newspapers have been recommending the Parliament to pass a law to put an end to these unions. Better call for a law to prevent those inconvenient things called *spring-tides*. Were there no other circumstance than that of the name of JOHN FIELDEN being found in the list of these friends to the *rights of labour*, that alone would be sufficient to satisfy me that the thing was right; but I have been contending for these rights all my life-time; and now, I verily believe, I shall see them recognised and established; and that, in a very short time, we shall find not even a Methodist parson, to tell a working man that it is right that he should have neither bread nor meat, while those who live on his labour are wallowing in luxury. I have no time for further remark. The following paper will convince every man of sense that some great change is at hand.

*Prince's Tavern, Princess-st., Manchester,
Monday, 25. Nov. 1833.*

At a meeting called, at the above time and place, of the Working People of Manchester, and their Friends, after taking into their consideration—

That society in this country exhibits the strange anomaly of one part of the people working beyond their strength, another part working at worn-out and other employments for very inadequate wages, and another part in a state of starvation for want of employment;

That eight hours' daily labour is enough for any human being, and, un-

der proper arrangements, sufficient to afford an ample supply of food, raiment, and shelter, or the necessaries and comforts of life, and that to the remainder of his time every person is entitled for education, recreation, and sleep;

That the productive power of this country, aided by machinery, is so great and so rapidly increasing, as, from its misdirection, to threaten danger to society by a still further fall in wages, unless some measure be adopted to reduce the hours of work, and to maintain at least the present amount of wages:—

IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED,

1. That it is desirable that all who wish to see society improved and confusion avoided, should endeavour to assist the working classes to obtain "FOR EIGHT HOURS' WORK THE PRESENT FULL DAY'S WAGES," such eight hours to be performed between the hours of six in the morning and six in the evening; and that this new regulation should commence on the first day of March next.

2. That in order to carry the foregoing purposes into effect, a society shall be formed, to be called "The Society for promoting National Regeneration."

3. That persons be immediately appointed from among the workmen to visit their fellow-workmen in each trade, manufacture, and employment, in every district of the kingdom, for the purpose of communicating with them on the subject of the above resolutions, and inducing them to determine upon their adoption.

4. That persons be also appointed to visit the master manufacturers in each trade, in every district, to explain and recommend to them the adoption of the new regulation referred to in the first resolution.

5. That the persons appointed as above shall hold a meeting on Tuesday evening, the 17. of December, at eight o'clock, to report what has been done, and to determine upon future proceedings.

6. That all persons engaged in gratuitous education on Sundays and during the week days, be respectfully invited to make arrangements for throwing open their school-rooms to the working clas-

ses for two hours a day (say from one to three o'clock, or from six to eight, or any other two hours more convenient), from the 1. of March next, and that all well-disposed persons be invited to assist in promoting their education when time for such purpose has been secured to them.

7. That subscriptions be now entered into in aid of the fund to be raised by the working classes, for the execution of their part of the proposed undertaking.

8. That another and distinct subscription be also entered into for defraying the expenses of the persons appointed to visit the master manufacturers, and for other general purposes.

9. That the workmen and their friends use their utmost efforts to obtain further subscriptions, and that all well-disposed females be respectfully requested cordially to co-operate in this undertaking.

10. That a committee of workmen and their friends be now formed,* with power to add to their number, and to appoint a secretary and treasurer for the Manchester district of the society, described in the second resolution.

11. That this committee be instructed to procure as soon as possible a convenient office in Manchester, which shall be called "The Office of the Society for National Regeneration."†

12. That circulars reporting the proceedings of this meeting be immediately printed, and sent to the masters in every trade in the United Kingdom.

13. That such masters as may be disposed to adopt the proposed regulation for reducing the hours of work, and paying the same wages, are hereby respectfully invited to signify their consent by

letter (post-paid), addressed to the Office of the Society in Manchester.

14. That the Catechism now read, entitled "The Catechism of the Society for Promoting National Regeneration," be adopted.

15. That Messrs. Oastler, Wood, Bull, Sadler, and others, be urgently requested to desist from soliciting Parliament for a ten hours' bill, and to use their utmost exertions in aid of the measures now adopted to carry into effect on the 1. of March next, the regulation of "eight hours' work for the present full day's wages."

16. That the thanks of this Meeting are hereby given to the aforesaid gentlemen, for their long-continued invaluable services in the cause of the oppressed of the working classes, and especially in the cause of the children and young persons employed in factories.

17. That Mr. Owen be requested to establish committees of the Society for National Regeneration, in every place or district which he may visit, especially in the Potteries, Birmingham, Worcester, Gloucester, Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, and London; and that he be also requested to report to the Office of the Society at Manchester, the names of such individuals as will assist in the present undertaking.

18. That in the first week in January next, the working men in every district throughout Great Britain and Ireland shall make application to their employers for their concurrence in the adoption of the regulation of "eight hours' work for the present full day's wages," to commence on the 1. day of March next.

19. That this Meeting earnestly appeal to their fellow men in France, Germany, and the other countries of Europe, and on the continent of America, for their support and co-operation in this effort to improve the condition of the labourer in all parts of the world.

JOSHUA MILNE, CHAIRMAN.

* The following is a list of the Committee:—John Fielden, Esq., M. P., Joshua Milne, Esq., George Condry, Esq., Messrs. John Travis, jun., I. W. Hodgetts, George Marshall, William Clegg, Joshua Fielden, Thomas Fielden, John Doherty, George Higginbottom, James Turner, William Taylor, Philip Grant, John Whyatt, George Scott, John Scott, Joseph Scott, Henry Greaves, John Broadie, William Willis, and Robert Owen, Esq.

† The Office of the Society is No. 48, Pall Mall, corner of King-street.

CATECHISM

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING

NATIONAL REGENERATION :

Whose object is, to remove as far as possible, the social and commercial evils now existing, and which, by their rapid increase, are fast destroying every vestige of happiness and order.

"Judgment is turned away backward, and Justice standeth afar off: for Truth is fallen in the street, and Equity cannot enter. Yea, Truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey: and the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no Judgment."—ISAIAH, chap. 59, verses 14, 15.

1. Q. What is society?

A. A number of rational and moral beings, united for the mutual happiness and preservation.

2. Q. Explain this further.

A. It is an association of human beings, to enable the individual members to produce wealth and distribute it—to form the character of the rising generation, and to govern the whole body in such a manner as to obtain the greatest possible amount of happiness, health, intelligence, and wealth.

3. Q. Explain further the legitimate object of human society.

A. The happiness of the human race, without distinction of class, sect, party, country or colour, in obedience to the divine command.—"*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,*" and in accordance with the Christian principles of universal charity and kindness.

4. Q. Is the present state of society such, as generally to enable honest and industrious men to practise these golden rules, without being in danger of going to bed penniless every night?

A. No.—"He that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey."—*Isaiah* ix. 15.

5. Q. What obstacles now exist in society which thus prevent the observance in practice of these golden rules?

A. Individual competition and unrestricted though mistaken selfishness, are

the obstacles which require to be removed, in order to obtain the legitimate and beneficial purposes of society. "They hunt every man his brother with a net;" "The best man is a brier—the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge."—*Micah* vii. 2, 4.

6. Q. What are the most obvious means for producing the contentment and happiness of society under its present circumstances, or in other words, its REGENERATION?

A. First, the inculcation and bold assertion and maintenance of Christian principles: and in connexion therewith, properly devised arrangements to enable society to produce the greatest amount of the most valuable wealth in the shortest possible time, and with the highest advantage to the producers; and to distribute this wealth most beneficially for society at large. Secondly, by other arrangements, combined with these, to nourish and cultivate the physical, intellectual, and moral powers and faculties of every child, in order that it may become as useful, valuable, intelligent, good, and happy as possible, and so to unite these separate arrangements in their due proportions, that they may always proceed together in order and harmony, and thus effectuate the greatest permanent benefit to every member of society.

7. Q. Is it now practicable to form arrangements throughout society that will produce improvements so extensive and important?

A. It will be comparatively easy of accomplishment when liberty of expression without evil to the speaker, can be secured for the conscientious views of every individual upon the state of society, and the operations of our present commercial system, without prejudice on account of the political party or religious section to which a man may be attached; and also, without prejudice on account of the relative situation of persons, especially that of masters and servants.

8. Q. Then you consider this liberty of expression without offence or prejudice, to be a first step towards the practice of real Christian charity?

A. Yes ; for until this great change be effected in the practice and dispositions of men, it will be vain to expect any essential improvement in the worldly and moral condition of society, or in the practice of social virtues, inasmuch as the *truth*, regarding the *sources* of social and commercial evils, cannot be established without this free discussion.

9. Q. State further what it is, which *now* prevents the introduction of practical measures to effect a beneficial change in the present deplorable and increasingly disastrous state of society.

A. *The want of correct views*—First, in those who *govern* the most civilized nations ; secondly, the want of the knowledge in *their subjects* : and thirdly, in this country especially, the overwhelming ascendancy of the *love* of our money over the love of our neighbour.

10. Q. What power do governors possess to remedy these evils ?

A. Much that is required to make the population of every country rich, intelligent, good, and contented.

11. Q. In cases where these governors do not exercise this beneficial knowledge and power, what practical measures would you recommend for adoption ?

A. It is recommended that the productive and more useful classes of society, in all countries, should unite among themselves to accomplish peaceably, and by *moral force alone*, those changes, which it would have been far better for the Government of the civilized countries of their own accord to have commenced and effected.

12. Q. Suppose the union of all the industrious and more useful classes to be effected, what ought to be the first measure for them to adopt ?

A. They should fix a *MAXIMUM OF TIME* and a *MINIMUM OF REMUNERATION*, for their daily labour.

13. Q. What ought to be the maximum of time ?

A. *EIGHT HOURS A DAY*—or from eight o'clock in the morning till mid-day, and from two o'clock in the afternoon till six o'clock in the evening.

14. Q. Why would you fix eight hours ?

A. 1st. Because—it is the longest period that the human race (taking the *average* of strength, and *allowing to the weaker, the rights of existence as well as the stronger*) can endure, of physical exertion, so as to be healthy, intelligent, virtuous and happy. 2nd. Because of the modern discoveries in chemistry and mechanics, which render it *unnecessary* to require a longer period of physical exertion. These discoveries, which Divine Wisdom and Goodness hath permitted and intended for the *relief* of his creatures, and to *lessen* the duration as well as the intensity of their toil, have been hitherto perverted by mistaken selfishness, and individual competition : so that with these improvements, human *labour* has *increased* and its *rewards* have proportionably *diminished*. We own these mechanical and chemical discoveries to be the gifts of God, and that by the present system we virtually despise and pervert them ; and we perceive that the practice of doing so, has been partly introduced by *ignorance*, and acting upon mistaken theories ; and much more so, by the baneful selfishness of a few *artful* capitalists, who sacrifice the interests of millions to enrich themselves. And thus from these causes principally, what happened of old hath happened unto us, and, “*That which should have been for our welfare, has become a trap*,”—Psalm lxi, 22. 3rd. Because by eight hours' labour, under proper arrangements, a superfluity of wealth may be created for *all*. 4th. Because no man has a *right* to require his fellow man to be employed longer than is generally beneficial to society, merely that *he* may grow *rich* by making many *poor*. 5th. Because it is the real interest of every human being, that every other human being should be healthy, intelligent, contented, and wealthy.

15. Q. What other considerations should lead us to strive for the attainment of these objects ?

A. Above all, we should consider that mankind are *possessed* of immortal souls, and of minds capable of incal-

able expansion and enjoyment : and though man in his present state is necessitated to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow; yet it should be the endeavour of all classes to *mitigate* and *not to aggravate* his physical toil, to *redeem* him for his spiritual enjoyment, and for the cultivation of social virtues, to the greatest possible extent. Thus we conclude, that any state of society which reduces man to mere physical exertion, is unnatural, and opposed to the intentions of Divine Goodness.

16. Q. What ought to be the minimum of remuneration for *eight hours'* daily employment in the service of mankind, that is, in producing food, lodging, clothes, furniture, or knowledge or pleasure, for our fellow-creatures?

A. The return for these services ought to be *a sufficiency of all these things, to the honest and industrious labourer*. The original imposition of labour was manifestly attended with this promise, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread;" (Genesis iii. 19.); but the present system tends to *reverse* this painful condition, and *in effect* says, in proportion as thy face shall sweat, thy bread shall fail."

17. Q. What other advantages is the honest and industrious labourer entitled to?

A. Sufficient time for religious duties; *"What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world and lose his own soul?"* Also for mental improvement and rational pleasures.

18. Q. Can men who *wilfully and knowingly* uphold and perpetuate a system which thus tends to impoverish and brutalize mankind, be entitled to be considered *honest men* or *sincere* Christians?

A. By no means—for "by their fruits ye shall know them." Matthew vii. 20.

19. Q. But suppose such men to make professions of piety, and to be generally esteemed as such?

A. "Satan himself is transformed into an Angel of light" 2 Cor. xi. 14.

20. Q. Can the physical and mental powers, wisely applied, produce all the necessities and comforts of life, and a surplus?

A. Yes; and if there was either necessity or utility in it, they could in a short time, under a wise direction of human powers applied to land and capital now in existence, produce wealth, to which no assignable limit can be fixed.

21. Then you, in fact, recommend that knowledge and happiness should, by these means, be *insured* to the productive classes?

A. Yes; we recommend also, that for this end all the producers of wealth and knowledge, whether employers or employed, should unite to obtain for their productions, and in return for their industry, from those who neither produce knowledge, nor wealth, nor anything really useful to mankind, a sufficiency of the necessities and comforts of life. But that if those who do *not* produce wealth, will *not thus* remunerate the producers, they break the natural compact of society, and ought at least to be left to produce those things for themselves.

22. Q. The first step you recommend to the Union of the Productive Classes being to fix a maximum of time and a minimum of wages, what do you *secondly* recommend?

A. That they should zealously endeavour to put an end to all injurious and all immoral habits, now prevalent amongst them, and especially intemperance; which habits, their excess of labour, and deprivation of moral and intellectual culture have greatly tended to produce. And that they should daily exhibit in their intercourse with each other and with the world, the Christian virtues of forbearance, charity, and kindness, and upon all occasions show a readiness to return *good for evil* and *blessing for cursing* after the example of the great Redeemer of mankind; until by a perseverance in such conduct, the evils which now afflict society shall be greatly diminished, if not removed.

23. Q. Do you believe that a Union of the Productive and Useful Classes is calculated to bring about such a virtuous, intelligent, and happy state of society?

A. Yes; by the blessing of God, great

advances might be made towards it, if both employers and employed can now be induced to unite, in measures the most obvious, for their mutual benefit.

24. Q. But should either one or both be yet too ignorant to comprehend this enlarged interest which you have described, what course should be adopted?

A. If both parties are not yet sufficiently informed, to perceive the overwhelming interest which they have in these measures, then the intelligent and best disposed who *do* understand these principles, and know the benefits they will produce when applied to practice, are called upon by their desire for happiness, to use every means in their power to enlighten both parties for their mutual advantage.

25. Q. But suppose the employers should not now perceive these things, as they do not suffer *so much evil* from the present practices *as the operatives whom they employ*, and that the latter *should* discover the *full* extent of the errors of the principle, by which their labour is called into action, what course would it be wise and prudent for the employed to adopt, to put an end, in the shortest time, to the unnecessary misery which they and their families now experience?

A. They have but one course left for them to pursue—they must *unite* as all other associations of men have done for their mutual safety and interest, and by their *union* induce the most *enlightened* of their *employers*, and the *public* to aid them, to do without the assistance of such of their present employers as cannot be induced to join them in these fundamental measures for their own security, and the regeneration of society.

26. Q. Is the time arrived for this great change to be effected, without throwing society into confusion, or doing a greater evil by raising some portion of society in the scale of happiness, and depressing other large portions, perhaps the greater number?

A. We believe the time is come, when this highly to-be-desired change may be accomplished not only without any real injury to any portion of mankind, but also with the most substan-

tial permanent advantage to the whole of the human race, and moreover we are persuaded that the present system cannot proceed without producing the violent and complete breaking up of society; for it is evident that the diffusion of knowledge (partial as it now is) and the existence of almost any degree of liberty, are utterly incompatible with the increasing depression of honest industry in our own country especially.

27. Q. What is the object intended to be attained by the establishment of the Regenerating Society?

A. The happiness of the human race.

28. Q. By what means?

A. First, by introducing into every day's practice, the fundamental precepts of the Christian religion—universal charity and kindness: secondly, through the abandonment of the commercial principle of *individual competition* and thirdly, by a suppression of immorality.

29. Q. Cannot the Christian precepts of charity and love be practised under the commercial system of individual competition?

A. No, never; and it is in vain long to continue the useless attempt.

30. Q. Then all sincere friends of Christianity and Truth must ultimately adopt these practical measures?

A. Without the adoption of such a plan, we do not see how the fundamental precepts of the Christian religion can be effectually carried into practice.

31. Q. What will be the consequences of delay and procrastination?

A. NATIONAL CONFUSION AND RUIN.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

BRIGHT, J., Much Wenlock, Shropshire, plumber.

GIBBINS, E. B., Red Lion-square, London, house-keeper.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

BRYANT, J., Watlington, Sussex, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

ADSTOCK, Upton-upon-Severn, Worcester, farmer.
 LEWIS, J. F. W., Star-corner, Bermondsey, licensed victualler.
 Y, F. and H., Bath, butchers.
 CKSON, J., jun., York, plumber.
 WIS, R. S., Nottingham, lace-manufacturer.
 UND, T., Bishopstone, Wiltshire, baker.
 HOFIELD, J., jun., Rochdale, woollen-manufacturer.
 OTT, W., Finsbury-circus, and Baltic coffee-house, merchant.
 OCKMAN, G., Portsea, linen-draper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CHAN, J. and Co., Glasgow, commission-agents.
 CDOUGALL, A., Rothesay, innkeeper.

TUESDAY, DEC. 3, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

BER, S., Drury-lane, draper.
 RWIN, S. and T., Sheffield, roller-manufacturers.
 KINS, W., Brentwood, linen-draper.
 TER, J., Peppards, Oxfordshire, coal-merchant.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

WER, M., Caerleon, Monmouthshire, ironmonger.
 MAS, R., Gellygare, Glamorganshire, mill-master.

BANKRUPTS.

RAGH, F., Liverpool, joiner.
 NG, G., Liverpool, merchant.
 GHTON, J., Nottingham, dealer in paper.
 ES, A., Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, cooper.
 E, J., West Derby, Lancashire, miller.
 ON, M., Ilkeston, Derbyshire, tallow-andler.
 EN, J., and C. Walmsley, Hollinwood, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.
 ELL, H. N., Chipping Sodbury, Gloucestershire, scrivener.

LONDON MARKETS.

ARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 2.—Arrivals of Wheat from the home counties this morning liberal, and which added the quantity remaining over from last week, caused the stands to be well filled with wheat. Millers evinced little disposition to raise, and the supplies thus considerably exceeding the demand, the best descriptions secured a slow sale at a decline of 1s. per qr.,

while all secondary and coarse qualities were difficult to quit, though offered 1s. to 2s. lower than this day week. For old Wheat there was little inquiry, and in bonded qualities nothing transpiring.

The extensive supplies of Barley have had the effect of materially depressing the trade. The best descriptions of malting suffered a depreciation of 1s. per qr., and all other sorts full 2s. per qr., as compared with the rates of this day se'night. At this reduction several parcels were taken off, still leaving, however, a good deal unsold at the close of the market.

Malt remains dull, and all secondary qualities nominal in value.

We had a large show of Oats, and the arrivals proving more than adequate to the demand, sales could only be effected at a decline of 6d. to 1s. per qr. on Monday's rates.

Beans, particularly old, were dull, and both old and new the turn cheaper.

White Peas heavy sale and rather lower, while maple and grey experienced a fair demand at a decline of full 1s. per qr.

Ship Flour came plentifully to hand, and was dull sale, though offered on low terms. The supply of Irish was limited, and prices steady. In the town-made article no alteration, and the trade heavy.

Wheat	52s. to 62s.
Rye	30s. to 36s.
Barley	24s. to 27s.
— fine	30s. to 35s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	42s. to 45s.
— Grey	33s. to 35s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	30s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	25s. to 26s.
— Feed	19s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	90s. to 95s.
— Mess, new ...	56s. to 62s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 82s. per cwt.
— Carlow	—s. to 85s.
— Cork	74s. to 75s.
— Limerick ..	—s. to —s.
— Waterford ..	—s. to —s.
— Dublin	70s. to 72s.

SMITHFIELD, December 2.

This day's supply of beasts, sheep, and calves was tolerably numerous, but the former in great part of indifferent quality; the supply of porkers but limited. Trade was, with each kind of prime meat, somewhat brisk, with the middling and inferior kinds very dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's quotations. Fully two-thirds of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts: the remaining third of about equal numbers of short-horns

and Scots,—the latter chiefly of the smaller breed, and for the most part, less than half-fat Irish beasts—about 50 Sussex beasts, 100 town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.—The Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and some of the Scots, chiefly (say about 2,200 of them) from Lincolnshire, and others of our northern grazing districts: about 200 of do., mostly Herefords, Devons, and runts, from our midland and western districts; the same number, chiefly Scots, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, about 100, including the Sussex beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including Town's-end Cows, from the London marshes.—About four-sixths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a sixth South Downs, and the remaining sixth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and new Leicesters, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 6.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull, and the prices rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur
Cons. Ann. }	88½	88½	88½	88	88	88½

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TESTIMONIALS.

"58, Aldersgate-street, Nov. 13, 1829.

"SIR,—The sample of Patent French Brandy you sent me, I have accurately examined; and having instituted a series of experiments on it, and on the finest French Brandy, I have in these comparative trials been able to discover so little difference, either in their composition or effects, that they may be considered as identical, excepting that your Brandy is free from uncombined and astringent matter, which exists more or less in most of the Brandy imported from France.

"I remain, Sir, yours respectfully.

"JOHN THOMAS COOPER,

"Lecturer on Chemistry

"To Mr. Betts."

"Long Acre, Nov. 14, 1829.

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"In obedience to your request, I have sealed several bottles of your Brandy, which I shall preserve for the purpose of comparison should this be required at any future period.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JOSEPH HUME,

"Chemist to his Majesty

"J. T. Betts, Esq."

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